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Brief Reading List

on

Government and Politics

PUBLISHED BY

Efficiency in Government Department
National League *of* Women Voters

NATIONAL LEAGUE *of* WOMEN VOTERS

Congressional Headquarters:

918 Munsey Building

Washington, D. C.

Organization Headquarters:

25 Traction Building

Peru, Indiana

Efficiency in Government Department:

2728 Euclid Avenue

Cleveland, Ohio.

National League of Women Voters. Dept. of Efficiency in Government

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Prepared by
Herman H. B. Meyer
Chief Bibliographer
Library of Congress

Cleveland

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FOREWORD

THE first purpose of the League of Women Voters was to ground the experience of women as new voters on a knowledge of the constitutions, charters and laws under which government operates. In response, citizenship schools and classes have sprung up all over the country. Most of them have included lectures or courses on the history of political parties. A few have emphasized the need for developing political thought among women, or for providing the means for their political sophistication.

The Department of Efficiency in Government is designed to carry forward the study of government from an understanding of institutions as they are, and as they are affected by party practices, to an inquiry into what they should be in order to make government more truly representative, and in every political unit to make its operation more efficient. Each state is organizing a group to work out its own program and method of study, based on an intimate knowledge of state problems and conditions.

This short Bibliography is offered as a means of stimulating interest in such work, and of providing support for it in informed opinion. It is expected that traveling libraries in each state will be formed to include the books here listed and that local Leagues, wherever practicable, will secure the cooperation of libraries in providing reference shelves of books indicated as authoritative in current lines of study.

In political life, as elsewhere in society, the possession of information is the way to influence and leadership.

BELLE SHERWIN,
Efficiency in Government Department,
National League of Women Voters.



Gift
H. H. B. Meyer
A. 13. 21

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(57 N. July 13. 22.)

INTRODUCTION

THE following brief list represents a selection of the more significant books relating to government and politics. The annotations are intended to convey some idea of the scope and contents of the volume. No comment is made on the character of the writing, the mere fact that these books are included in so brief a list, indicates that they have not been found wanting in this respect. The index is rather minutely analytical and should afford a key to the contents of the volumes.

Manuals for voters have not been included, because these are prepared to meet local conditions in the several states. However, Raymond Moley's "Parties, Politics, and People; Four Lectures to the League of Women Voters of Cleveland," is an excellent introduction to the whole subject covered by this list. Concerning the latest developments in conducting elections and improving the form of the ballot, inquiry should be made of the National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York City.

Grateful acknowledgement should be made to Mrs. Sarah S. Edwards, Librarian of the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency, and to Miss Mary Rudd Cochran, Department of Sociology of the Cleveland Public Library, for their valuable assistance in preparing this material.

HERMAN H. B. MEYER,
Chief Bibliographer, Library of Congress.

Washington, D. C.

October, 1921.

Brief Reading List on Government and Politics

I. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN GENERAL

1. BRYCE, James Bryce, viscount. *Modern Democracies*. New York, Macmillan Co., 1921. 2 v., 23cm.

This is an important and probably the most comprehensive study of the subject of democracy as it has developed in certain countries throughout the world. Book consists of three parts.

Part I discusses outstanding features which go to make up democratic government in general,—liberty, equality, political parties, etc.

Part II first considers the republic of Athens; and later those of Spanish America; France; Switzerland; and Canada. The chapters dealing with the government of the United States (Vol. 2) are probably of most interest to Americans. Discusses beginnings of democracy in America and outlines present form of government; discusses party system, actual workings of national and state government, courts, and recent reform movements. Sums up ten defects and the same number of causes for the failure of popular government in the United States. Remainder of Part II is devoted to a study of democracy in Australia and New Zealand.

Part III is a general examination and criticism, based on the findings in Parts I and II, of the workings of democratic government, and comments on its future as suggested by a study of the forms it has taken, changes undergone, and tendencies now affecting it.

2. HAINES, Charles Grove, and Bertha Moser Haines. *Principles and Problems of Government*. New York and London, Harper & Brothers (1921) xvi, 597 p. diags. 21cm

“Supplementary reading” at the end of each chapter.

Traces the development of government from prehistoric beginnings through the Orient, Greece, and Rome, to feudalism and the modern national state, and finally international law and a possible world state. Discusses the methods of study and the elements which enter into the formation of governments, public opinion, political parties, their machinery and control, elections and forms of ballots. Next constitutions are discussed, federal government, parliamentary *versus* presidential systems, legislative bodies, executive organization and methods, courts and administration of justice. The last part of the book is devoted to certain special problems in government, such as the budget, public debts, regulation of public utilities, public ownership, regulation of commerce, labor and education, and lastly international relations.

3. JENKS, Edward. *The State and the Nation*. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1919. v. 312 p. diagrs. 19½cm.

This book is a short study of the development of the state as an institution. Divided into three parts. Brief introductory chapter explains terms used in the study. Part I takes up study of institutions of primitive peoples (meaning those usually termed savages rather than prehistoric tribes), and their attempts toward an orderly social system. Discusses grouping of communities into small units, based on relationship, and their religion in which was developed the most primitive form of law and jurisprudence.

Part II is devoted to study of patriarchal institutions which developed in the stage of society in which a group of individuals was dominated by its oldest living male ancestor. Discusses law, religion, introduction of agriculture, commerce and craftsmanship as developed in this stage of political society.

Part III takes up the study of the final, or the present stage in social development in which the more advanced communities of the world are now living. Beginning with the modern state which originated in the migrations and conquests of the peoples who overthrew the Roman Empire in the Dark Ages, author discusses the state in relation to feudalism, early political institutions, public order, political

representation, legislation, property, and industry. Final chapter discusses kinds of states and proposals which have been put forward in recent years for the introduction of changes into institutions of political life.

4. RAY, Perley Orman. *An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*. New and rev. ed. New York, Chicago, C. Scribner's Sons (1917) xi, (1) 628 p., forms (part fold.), 19½cm. Bibliography at end of each chapter.

Discusses parties, party organization, machinery, and platforms, methods of nomination by caucus or primary, and conventions, direct primary, and national conventions, method of carrying on campaigns and elections, election expenses, prevention of corruption, suffrage qualifications, and election laws. The last half of the book discusses the effect of parties on government, the spoils system, civil service reform, machines and bosses, removal of public officials, "practical" politics in legislative bodies, and remedies.

II. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

5. ASHLEY, Roscoe Lewis. *The New Civics: A Textbook for Secondary Schools*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1917. xxviii, 420 p. illus. 19½cm.

An excellent book covering the field of American citizenship. As the title indicates, the book is designed for high school use and is arranged with that purpose in view. It is divided into three parts.

Part I takes up the subject of the citizen and society, dividing the main head into subheads, such as essentials of citizenship; rights of American citizens; civic obligations; education of the citizen; the American nation; civic organization, social, political, and economic; and the importance of American home and family life.

Part II deals with the subject of the government and the citizen and discusses it under the heads of suffrage; elections; political parties; civil liberty and public welfare; finance; state and local government; the national constitu-

tion and national government; and the various departments of the latter.

Part III is concerned with public activities, discussing public welfare and health; labor and industry; commerce; territories; and foreign relations.

The book contains numerous lists of references; topics for themes; and lists of questions on the text.

6. BEARD, Charles Austin. *American Government and Politics*. 3d ed. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920. x p., 11, 788 p. 20½cm. "Guide to current literature on government and politics," p. 766-767. "Bibliographical note": p. 769-776.

Traces the origins of the Constitution and its historic development, state constitutions, and political parties and machinery. The Federal government is next described in its three divisions, and some of its larger problems, such as foreign affairs, national defense, taxation and finance, and regulation of commerce, are discussed. The last part of the book is devoted to state and local governments and their functions.

7. BRYCE, James Bryce, *viscount*. *The American Commonwealth*. New ed., completely rev. throughout, with additional chapters. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1910. 2 v. 21cm.

This is the most comprehensive work on our government and political institutions. It is divided into six parts. Part I treats of the origin of the Constitution and the nature of the Federal government founded on it. Discusses the three branches of the Federal government, the executive in the president and cabinet, the legislative in the two houses of Congress, the judiciary in the Supreme Court and the district courts. Compares the American system with European systems, and describes the relations between the Federal and State governments. Finally traces the growth and development of the Constitution in the light of the institutions which it established, how it has been interpreted and amended and its adaptability to growing institutions.

Part II treats of state and local governments. Describes the position of the state and its government paralleling the Federal government in its three divisions, the executive or governor, the legislature, and the state courts. Describes

the workings of the state governments, the faults they have developed and the remedies suggested. The chapters on local government describe the township and county systems and their development into a combination of the two. Discusses the forms of city government and the reasons of their failure with the remedies suggested.

Part III discusses the party system, the composition and organization of parties, the significance of the "machine" and of "rings" and "bosses" and "spoils." Elections and the machinery of elections, nominating conventions, and political campaigns are described.

Part IV is devoted to a discussion of public opinion, its nature, the effect of national characteristics, classes, and localities in moulding and directing it, and wherein it fails and wherein it succeeds.

Part V discusses a few of our most difficult problems, the evils of rings and bosses in our cities, the treatment of the rising tide of immigration, the south and the negro, imperialism, and woman suffrage.

Part VI discusses our social institutions, the bench and bar, railroads, invested capital, educational institutions, churches and religion, influence of democracy on thought, on literature and art, and devotes several chapters to American life in general.

8. KIMBALL, Everett. *The National Government of the United States*. Boston, New York, Ginn & Co. (1920). v, 629 p. 21 1/2 cm.

Describes the origin and making of the Constitution, political parties and their organization, the election of a president, his powers, the administration of the government and the organization and functions of the executive departments. Congress, its organization and procedure, with chapters on its war powers, control of finance, regulation of commerce, etc., is then discussed. Two chapters are devoted to the judiciary, and there are final chapters on the police power of the Federal government, on foreign affairs, and on government of territories.

9. MAGRUDER, Frank Abbott. *American Government in 1921, with a Consideration of the Problems of Democracy*. Bos-

ton, New York, etc., Allyn and Bacon, (1921). xiv, 460 p. illus. 19½cm. Bibliography at end of each chapter.

A small book presumably designed for high school classes in civics. Considers first the importance of government and the development of the state. Next discusses federal system of government, its various departments and subdivisions of each, rights of citizens, political parties, etc.

Next considers state government, its organization and workings of different departments, followed by a discussion of local government, suffrage, finance, education, and social legislation.

At end of each chapter will be found questions on the text and questions for discussion.

10. MUNRO, William Bennett. *The Government of the United States, National, State, and Local*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1919. x p., 1 l., 648 p. 22½cm.

Traces the origin and development of the Constitution. Describes the executive and his powers, the legislature and its powers in relation to taxation, national debt, commerce, war, etc., and discusses the limitation and workings of Congress, introducing a discussion of political parties in the national government. Describes the judiciary, the Supreme Court and the subordinate courts.

The description of state governments begins with a discussion of their position in relation to the Federal government, describes their constitutions and the three branches of their governments, with special chapters on state finance and on political parties, and lastly on the reconstruction of state governments.

Local government is treated under counties, towns, townships, villages and cities, with separate chapters on municipal organization and administration, and on the commission and city-manager forms of government.

11. WILSON, Woodrow. *Constitutional Government in the United States*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1908. vii, 236 p. 20½cm.

This book has long been considered a standard on the subject of the government of the United States as developed under a constitutional system.

First chapter is devoted to the study and explanation of constitutional government in general, outlining the essential elements of a system of this type.

Second chapter takes up study of place of the United States in constitutional development.

Next chapter is on the president of the United States, historical development of the office, executive powers, and the administration of the various types of executives.

Next two chapters consider House of Representatives and Senate, their development, powers and duties.

Other chapters deal with the judicial system of the United States; the relation between the Federal government and the states; and the growth and development of the party system.

III. STATE GOVERNMENTS

12. HOLCOMBE, Arthur Norman. *State Government in the United States*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1916. xiii, 498 p. 22½cm. "A selected list of references for the study of state government": p. 481-486.

After an introduction on the relations between the states and the nation, discusses the origin and development of state governments, their weaknesses and reformation. The third part treats of the actual working of state governments, the electorates, political parties, conduct of elections, with reform in methods. The three branches of state government, legislative, executive, and judicial are described, their weaknesses pointed out and reforms suggested. The final chapters discuss the constitutional convention, direct legislation, commission and other proposed plans of state government.

13. MATHEWS, John Mabry. *Principles of American State Administration*. New York and London, D. Appleton & Co., 1917. xiii, (1), 533, (1) p. 21cm. Contains bibliographies.

Describes the administration of state governments in detail, beginning with the governor, his powers and functions, the heads of the executive departments, state boards and commissions, the selection and removal of state officials. The functions of the state government are described in the next section in relation to taxation and finance, education, chari-

ties and correction, health, enforcement of law, administration of justice, control of corporations, labor, promotion of agriculture, good roads. A final chapter discusses reorganization of the state administration, and the work of efficiency and economy commissions.

IV. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

14. BEARD, Charles Austin. *American City Government; a Survey of Newer Tendencies*. New York, The Century Co., 1912. ix, 420 p. front., plates (1 double). 20½cm. Bibliography: p. 409-413.

Discusses the character of the city population, home rule and the efforts to secure it, the advances made in recent city government, including the commission form in its various modifications, the finances and methods and forms of taxation, police, police corruption, city courts, public utilities including public ownership, streets, lighting, health, water supply, sewerage, fire protection, housing, education, recreation and city planning.

15. COOKE, Morris Llewellyn. *Our Cities Awake: Notes on Municipal Activities and Administration*. Garden City, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918. xxiii, 351, (1) p. front., illus., plates (incl. ports). 20½cm.

Written in delightfully informal style and appropriately illustrated, a book on municipal government by a former Director of Public Works of Philadelphia. It describes the practical work of city departments, methods of securing efficient and loyal workers, and the contribution of good government to the happiness and well-being of all the people, young and old.

16. FITZPATRICK, Edward Augustus, editor. *Experts in City Government*. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1919. xiv p. 1 l., 363 p. 19½cm.

This volume, one of the National Municipal League series, is a compilation of articles on subjects of importance in the field of municipal government, by authors each of whom is an expert in the field in which he has written.

The purpose of the book is to bring about more efficiency

in public service through the administration of experts, and to promote the preparation of such experts by special training in their respective fields.

The subjects covered include urban concentration and the problem arising from it; wide scope of municipal improvements; inadequacy of modern city government; reasons why men do not stay in public service; present tendencies in the form of municipal government; existing agencies devoted to the training of experts; local residence requirements for public service which stand in the way of experts in city government; utility problems; application of methods of military training as applicable to the training for civil service, etc.

17. GILBERTSON, Henry Stimson. *The County, the "Dark Continent" of American Politics*. New York, The National Short Ballot Organization, 1917. vi p., 1 l., 297 p. front. (diagr.), 19cm. Bibliography: p. 275-284.

Traces the development of counties in various sections of the country. Shows the piecemeal, haphazard manner of growth of existing county governments and discusses the reforms suggested for remedying the evils which prevail. Shows the position of the county in relation to the state and the people and how its functions are carried out, and lastly attempts a reconstruction of the county government to secure scientific administration.

18. JAMES, Herman Gerlach. *Local Government in the United States*. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1921. xv, 482 p. 21cm.

A comprehensive study of a subject that has received little attention from authors in the United States. First chapter constitutes a brief survey of local government in England and France for the purpose of comparison and to serve as a background for developments in the United States. Emphasis placed on large amount of local self-government in England and the opposite condition existing in France. Next chapter discusses forms of local government in the early colonies of America, its development in the new states to 1850, and later through the period ending with 1900. Next two chapters deal at length with the subject of county gov-

ernment, its origin, development, organization, and functions in the various states. Chapter five is a study of the subdivisions of the county, from the New England town to the townships of the central and middle west states. Next two chapters take up the study of city government, its organization and functions, and the various forms of municipal government, aldermanic, commission, city manager, etc. Chapter eight surveys the developments in local government during the past ten years—home rule, county-city consolidation, reform agencies, etc. The final chapter discusses proposals for reform in local government, including abolition of townships, more local self-government in urban communities, county-city consolidation, less duplication of jurisdiction, etc.

19. MUNRO, William Bennett. *The Government of American Cities*. New and rev. ed. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1916. ix, 415 p., diagr. 22cm. "References" at end of each chapter.

Devoted to a description of city governments as they actually exist. After an historical chapter on municipal development, discusses the social structure of the city, its relation to the state (home rule), the powers and responsibilities of the city government and its agents, the city electorate, methods of nomination and election, the power and influence of local political parties and the evils they do. Next the existing city governments are described, the councils, mayor, administrative departments and officials, and lastly the reform plans which have come into existence, commission form of government, direct legislation and the recall, and the city-manager plan.

The footnote references in this work are of the greatest value in any more extensive study of the subject and constitute in fact a classified bibliography.

20. MUNRO, William Bennett. *The Government of European Cities*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1909. ix, 409 p. 22½cm. Sources and literature: p. 380-402.

A study of municipal government in France, Germany, and England, contrasting their structure and functions with those of cities in the United States.

First chapter takes up the study of the government of

French cities. Shows development of municipal administration which has as its main feature administrative centralization as embodied in the Napoleonic system. Draws comparison with cities of the other two European countries considered and with those of the United States in municipal organization, officers, functions and duties, elections, etc. Special attention is given the government of Paris which is practically centrally controlled.

Chapter of municipal government in Germany discusses problem arising from the movement of the population toward larger cities during the past fifty years. Shows lack of uniformity in systems of local government contrasting the same with conditions in France and England. Discusses organization of city government; city officials; their duties; elections; etc., as in the chapter on the cities of France, and comparing the same with cities of the other countries.

Chapter on government of English cities discusses outstanding features and their importance as a background for municipal government in the United States. Special emphasis placed on large amount of local self-government as contrasted with cities of France. Traces growth of English local government from the ancient borough to the present time. Shows organization of local government, describes system of elections; officers, their powers and duties, etc. Special attention given the government of London. Book contains very comprehensive chapter on sources and literature on the government of the cities of the countries considered.

21. ZUEBLIN, Charles. *American Municipal Progress*. New and rev. ed. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1916. xiv p., 1 l., 522 p., front., plates. 20½cm. (Social science text-books, ed. by R. T. Ely.) "Bibliography prepared by Helen Bernice Sweeney": p. 429-495.

A most encouraging work true to its title. Begins with a discussion of the transportation problem, means of entrance and exit, and rapid transit, the streets, their cleaning and lighting, disposal of waste and sewerage, water supply, care of health, protection from fire and crime, education, schools, libraries and museums, social centers, parks, recreation. The

final chapters discuss city planning, municipal ownership, and municipal administration and efficiency.

V. INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE IN LOCAL, STATE AND NATIONAL POLITICS

(Not included in the index.)

CROLY, Herbert David. *Marcus Alonzo Hanna: His Life and Work*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1912. 495 p.

A frank account of the political conditions which made Hanna's leadership possible and a good sketch of the Republican party during his political career.

JOHNSON, Tom Loftin. *My Story*, by Tom L. Johnson. Ed. by Elizabeth J. Hauser. New York, B. W. Huebsch & Co., 1911. 326 p.

A vivid, human story of the writer's early life, his inventions, business successes, his conversion to the theories of single tax and municipal ownership, his work in Congress and his gallant fight for good government in Cleveland. Of special interest for its detailed account of the struggle for a three-cent street-car fare.

PLATT, Thomas Collier. *The Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt*. Ed. by Louis J. Long. New York, Dodge & Co., 1910. 556 p.

A good history of New York politics during Platt's ascendancy and a clear account of anti-Tammany machine methods in the days when patronage rather than principle was the dominating force behind a political leader.

MCCALL, Samuel Walker. *Life of Thomas Brackett Reed*. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914. 303 p.

An intimate life of the famous Speaker who revolutionized the procedure of the House, by a friend and fellow congressman.

Though primarily a study in personality, it records the public questions of his day in the light of his actions upon them and presents his views as far as possible in his letters, speeches, and other writings.

ROOSEVELT, Theodore. *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920. 597 p.

A rapid, first-hand account of what a great American thought the most striking episodes of his political career. His policies and achievements as Police Commissioner, as member of the New York Legislature, as Governor and President, together with his adventure as ranchman and hunter, make up a volume of extraordinary interest.

WHITLOCK, Brand. *Forty Years of It*, by Brand Whitlock. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1914. 373 p.

A fascinating record of democracy's progress in the middle west from 1879 to 1914.

Beginning with his experiences as a young newspaper man campaigning with Blaine, we see him as journalist and lawyer, working with Golden Rule Jones and Tom Johnson and sharing their ideals. Finally, we read of the eight years when, as mayor of Toledo, he directed the city's growth along the lines laid down by those pioneer workers.

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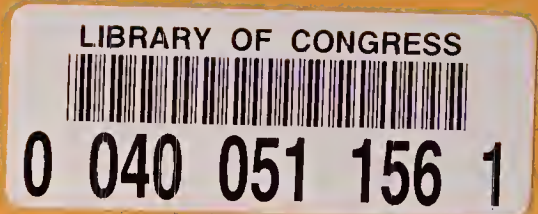
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THE position of a voter in a democracy is essentially that of a director rather than that of an official. It is his function to place the right men at the head of certain departments of the government and prescribe the ends which they should try to attain. The means by which they are to reach these ends should generally be left to the judgment of the officials themselves.

The American people must prove that a democracy can manage business as well as a monarchy can, that it can show the same care in the selection of officials and the same self-restraint in judging of their work before it is done. The people as a whole must assume the double duty of voting intelligently on matters which public opinion can decide and leaving to the specialist matters which can only be decided by the specialist; of holding the expert responsible for results and promoting the man who has done business well rather than the one who flatters the people that he is going to do business in a way they will like and understand. Thus, and thus only, can we combine two things which are equally essential to American democracy if it is to hold its place among the nations: *popular sovereignty* and *efficient government*.

ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY.